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ANCIENT GEORGIAN VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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ONE of the most important questions in ancient Georgian literature has to do with the old Georgian versions of the Bible. The problems in this field are very complex. Not only is the history of the translation of the Old Testament entirely distinct from that of the New, but in each of them the translations were made by various hands from different languages and different types of text.

The following article grew out of an investigation undertaken upon one manuscript of the Old Testament, which proved to be of minor importance for a reconstruction of the Old Testament text, but throws much light on the history of old Georgian literature in general.¹ The codex, or what remains of it, is now in the library of the Georgian State University at Tiflis, and bears the number 1. (In this article it is designated by the letter U.) The discovery of the manuscript was announced by the Georgian scholar, Th. D. Žordania (ob. 1916), who in the second volume of his *Chronicles* (1897) said that he had found it at Kutais, in Western Georgia.² Of the manuscript itself, however, nothing further was known³ until in 1917 it was turned over to the Georgian University by Žordania's son along with some other manuscripts which had been in his father's possession.

¹ The present article is a revision of an earlier one in Russian, in the *Извѣстія Кавказскаго Отдѣленія Московскаго Археологическаго Общества*, Выпускъ VI, Тифлисъ 1921 г., entitled "О древнегрузинскихъ версияхъ Ветхаго Завета (по поводу Codex Z'ordaniae грузинскаго университета)", pp. 1-40. The article was printed after the author had left the Caucasus, and ensuing political developments made the last revision of text and proof impossible.

² For Žordania's account of his discovery and description of the codex, see below, pp. 296, 297.

³ To all inquiries Žordania replied that he did not know what had become of it, and the investigations of Professor N. Marr, Father Kekelidze, and others proved fruitless.

After my arrival in the Caucasus, by the kindness of my friend, Professor A. G. Shanidze, the librarian of the University, I was able to examine it. Some observations, early made, led me to doubt Žordania's statement about its provenience. I noticed that the signatures of the quaternions were placed at the side of the page in the lower part of the outer margin of the last leaf, a peculiarity which had attracted my attention in a number of manuscripts in the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum from the library of the monastery at Gelat'i. In the summer of 1919 Father Korneli Kekelidze found, in a heap of fragments in the library of Gelat'i, some leaves containing parts of the Old Testament with scholia. He thereupon went carefully through the whole pile, and found a small piece of one of the leaves of Žordania's codex, and also pieces from the same manuscript of the Nomocanon of Euthymius the Athonite which we already had. Thus Žordania's statement that his codex came from Kutais was disproved.

The other fragments discovered by Kekelidze were written on white paper, 31 × 20 cm., in a very careless and illegible *mḱhedruli* (warrior) hand of the end of the eighteenth century, and were evidently copied from our manuscript. The scribe obviously had difficulty in deciphering it, and many of his leaves were only partially written out. I was not able to identify all the passages, but it is probable that at the time the transcript was made the codex was practically complete in the Octateuch, as the beginning of Leviticus is preserved. The leaves identified contained

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| No. 1. Leviticus 2, 2 ff. | No. 9. Deuteronomy 1, 1 ff. |
| No. 5. Joshua 1, 1–2. | No. 10. Leviticus 1, 1 ff. |
| No. 6. Numbers 26, 22 ff. | |

There are nineteen leaves in all. Whether these leaves are what Žordania refers to when he speaks of a "second one of the same type," is uncertain, but I am inclined to doubt it.

The fragment of codex U proved to be a bit of Leviticus 13, 2–12, from the leaf which precedes f. 7 (1) in the present order of the manuscript.

The codex itself is in very bad condition, having suffered

greatly from age, moisture, and ill treatment. From the point of view of palaeography it falls into two parts widely diverse both in content and external form, although, I believe, from the hand of the same scribe. In the first part (Leviticus to Ruth inclusive), the biblical text is in a bold hand, while the script of the commentary is smaller. The latter is very extensive, sometimes occupying the whole page. The various paragraphs of the scholia have headings in red which have suffered more than the text, and in many cases have wholly faded out. The biblical text, as will be shown below, bears indisputable marks of the scholastic movement, and is entirely different from the printed text of the Georgian Bible (Moscow edition of 1743).⁴ In the Prophets, however, the hand of the text is smaller, being about the size of that of the scholia in the Octateuch. In this part of the codex there is only occasionally a brief scholion on the margins, which are for the most part blank. The text of the Prophets is almost letter for letter that of the Moscow Bible.

In the second part of the codex, the text is written in one column (as is likewise the case in the first part where the scholia in the margin do not crowd it too much), with forty lines to the page. The script itself is of a peculiar type. Properly speaking, it is a cross between the ordinary *nuskha-khutsuri*, or ecclesiastical minuscule, and the *mḱhedruli*, or warrior hand. The first element, however, is the dominant one. What sharply distinguishes it from the usual minuscule of that period is the evident intention of the scribe to dash off a whole word without raising his pen from the paper. Some of the letters closely approach the *mḱhedruli* characters in form, especially, *g*, *ē* (*ey*), *m*, *z*; *p*' resembles a Greek *φ* and is not infrequently ligatured with a following *e* or *i*; Greek influence is unmistakable in the general character of the script.⁵ The letters *b*, *g*, *t*', *i*, *l*, *γ*, all have an ornamental dash on their left, exactly like the usual printed *khutsuri*. This type of hand is not infrequently met with in adscriptions, but rarely forms the basic script of a

⁴ Hereafter designated by the letter M.

⁵ It is clear that the aim to write in connected cursive, which is foreign to the older Georgian mss., arose from the influence of the contemporary Greek minuscule hand.

complete codex.⁶ Adscriptions in later hands are almost wholly lacking.

The Prophets, as Žordania correctly remarks,⁷ are divided into chapters and verses by a hand of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Here and there in the first part the chapters are marked by the same scribe, but no verse division is there introduced. The initial word of each verse in the Prophets is designated by a small circle placed over it. In some passages in the Prophets the text has been altered, for the most part by the addition of cola, a point to which we shall return below. The ink is dark reddish brown and of poor quality. The headings are not written in cinnabar, but with the juice of the Caucasian sloe (*kizil*). Both headings and text have suffered severely from dampness, and in many places the text is hard to decipher. The paper is of an oriental type, soft, un-sized, and browned by age.⁸ The leaves measure 376 × 272 mm.⁹ The codex in general bears all the earmarks of being a scholar's hand copy. Cheap paper, elaborate commentaries, Hellenizing script, all point to a poor but learned monk as its possessor. The difference in external appearance is peculiarly striking when one compares the luxurious tomes which come from Constantinople and from Athos, whose parchment, ink, and script are of the highest quality.

The manuscript bears upon f. 7 (1^r) a note in Georgian in the hand of T'. Žordania that it consists of 338 folia. The greater part of the leaves preserved bear numbers in the hand of this scholar; but his enumeration, as we shall see below, involves us in difficulties. The loose leaves were marked by him completely at haphazard, and it took several days of incessant labor to

⁶ E.g., the adscription of the Abbot Paul of Iveron (s. XII *fin.*) in 'at'onis iveriis monastris 1074 c. *kheli'naceri krebuli*,' Tiflis 1901, p. 274, No. 167. A hand of the same type, but more conventionalized, occurs in Cod. Eccl. Mus. 677 (s. XII); other examples are to be found in the codices at Jerusalem.

⁷ Žordania, *k'ronikebi*, II, p. 39.

⁸ Similar paper appears in ms. Eccl. Mus. 676 (s. XIII; Josephus), also from Gelat'i.

⁹ There are clear traces that at a fairly remote period the ms. was repaired and brought into order. The outer leaves which had been torn away were glued into place by long strips of whitish paper. At this time the quaternions were sewn together and possibly re-marked. (On this see below, p. 275.)

bring them into order. The ultimate results of this effort are as follows:

1. It appeared that among the loose leaves about ten were from the Octateuch, particularly from Leviticus and Numbers. The better part of a quaternion was reconstructed at the beginning of the sewn leaves, containing Leviticus 7, 19–11, 24 and 13, 2–10.¹⁰ Three leaves from the commencement of Numbers, containing 2, 1–34 and 4, 30–5, 19, filled up an imperfect quaternion in that book. In addition there is a small and badly damaged fragment of which only the ends of the lines and part of the commentary are preserved. It is clear that it forms part of the story of Balaam, but as similar expressions are repeated several times in the course of the episode, I can only conjecturally refer it to Numbers 23, 4–7.¹¹

2. With the exception of the folia above mentioned, the remainder of the text of Leviticus from verse 13, 15 onward and up to the end of Ruth, has come down to us in a continuous sequence of quaternions, still held together by the stitching, with the exception of the first six, and of the last (the twenty-fifth), which have worked loose from the rest. At the time when the sewing was done, the leaves, which had presumably got into disorder, were marked in red (cinnabar) at the bottom of the page in *mḱhedruli* (possibly in the seventeenth century), with the number of the leaf in the quaternion. The lower part of the leaves has suffered from damp more than the upper, in consequence of which not all the quaternion signatures have been preserved.¹² The contents of the book are as follows:

(a) Leviticus 13, 15 to the end, folia 1^r–31^r.

(b) Numbers 1, 1 to the end, folia 31^r–85^v. The commen-

¹⁰ The last leaf of this group (f. 6/286) is only a fragment, and the bit found at Gelat'i (see above, p. 272) forms a part of it.

¹¹ The numbers of the leaves in their present order have now been put on in red crayon.

¹² The first original quaternion signature preserved is that of the sixth quaternion in the present state of the ms. which is marked ē (= 8). Thus two gatherings have perished at the beginning, and the ms. must have begun with Leviticus. Quaternion signatures are preserved as far as iē = 18 (f. 129^v). If a similar text for Genesis and Exodus ever existed, it must have formed a separate volume. I was able to find no trace of quaternion signatures in the Prophets.

tary covers part of the next page, and the folium following that is blank.

(c) Deuteronomy 1, 1 to the end, folia 92^r–148^r.

(d) Joshua 1, 1 to the end, folia 148^r–171^r.

(e) Judges 1, 1 to the end, folia 172^r–197^r.

(f) Ruth 1, 1 to the end, folia 197^v–202^r. The text on the last page is written in cruciform shape, and fol. 202^v is left blank. The total number of leaves preserved in this part of the manuscript is 204.¹³

3. Prophets. There is nothing to show whether the middle part of the Bible, 1 Kings (Samuel) to Sirach inclusive, originally formed part of our codex. All of the leaves preserved, however, belong to the prophetic writings, which were once complete. Whether the minor prophets preceded or followed the major, we cannot say. Within these groups we can in some cases determine the order. Thus, after Jeremiah comes Baruch; after Hosea, Joel; after Jonah, Micah; after Micah, Habakkuk; after Habakkuk, Zephaniah; after Zephaniah, Haggai. Nothing of Lamentations or of Malachi is extant, but they were undoubtedly originally included. No trace of Daniel is extant.

(a) From Isaiah the following passages are preserved: 22, 22–24, 5 (badly damaged); 29, 12–32, 13; 45, 24 to the end (ff. 206 to 222); leaves 213 to 222 are sewn together in the wrong order.

(b) From Jeremiah: 15, 9–25, 13; 49, 34–47;¹⁴ 25, 14–28, 11; 45, 37–47, 5; 48, 14–17; 49, 1–26; 50, 1–52, 34 (ff. 223 to 244).

(c) From Baruch: 1, 1–4, 17. (Ff. 244 to 247.)

(d) From Ezekiel: 1, 1–5, 15; 7, 8–8, 4; 17, 18–23, 10; 24, 11–30, 5; 32, 7–43, 17. (Ff. 248 to 277.)

(e) From the Minor Prophets:

(i) Hosea. 14, 6–10; preface to Joel. (F. 278.)

(ii) Joel. 2, 7–4, 21. (Ff. 279 to 280.)

(iii) Amos. Preface; 1, 1–2, 12; 4, 8–7, 4. (Ff. 281 to 284.)

¹³ The variation in the total arises from two imperfect leaves.

¹⁴ In Jeremiah this text follows the Greek order and enumeration of verses, which is not the case with the other version (in O). In M the Hebrew order is followed, and the text has been accordingly rearranged.

- (iv) Obadiah. 1, 21–31; preface to Jonah. (F. 285.)
- (v) Jonah. Preface; 1, 1–2, 1; 4, 8–11. (Ff. 285 to 286.)
- (vi) Micah. Preface; 1, 11–5, 2. (Ff. 287 to 289.)
- (vii) Nahum. Preface; 1, 1–2, 6; 3, 3–19. (Ff. 290 to 291.)
- (viii) Habakkuk. Preface; 3, 3–19, and colophon. (Ff. 291 to 292.)
- (ix) Zephaniah. Preface; 1, 1–3, 20 (complete). (Ff. 293 to 295.)
- (x) Haggai. Preface only. (F. 295).
- (xi) Zechariah. 1, 12–3, 2; 5, 2–7, 7. (Ff. 296–298.)

4. Fragments not belonging to the Bible (twelve in all).

(a) One leaf of the same paper (not numbered), written in *khutsuri* in two columns in a hand of the fourteenth–fifteenth century, containing a fragment of a homily.

(b) One leaf of a different paper in a hand similar to the above with a liturgical text accompanied by a commentary (not numbered).

(c) Four leaves (Nos. 86, 87, 88, 90 of Žordania's enumeration) on the same paper as the biblical text, but written in a square *khutsuri* hand of the thirteenth–fourteenth century with hagiographical texts.

(d) Two leaves of paper of a better quality in angular *khutsuri* ('gothic') of the seventeenth century (not numbered). One of these bears a note on the margin in Žordania's hand: Life of St. Akakios; Life of St. Jacob.

(e) Four leaves on the same paper and by the same hand as the scribe of the text, but written in different ink. They are numbered 309, 307, 310, and 330, and contain the canons of the sixth oecumenical council in the version of St. Euthymius the Athonite.¹⁵ The ink here is black.

The total number of leaves at the present time is 313. The question thus arises, What has become of the other 25 leaves which should be there according to Žordania's statement? One leaf (No. 337) was in fact found later on among the papers of the deceased scholar, but the rest are lacking. Two almost com-

¹⁵ See above, p. 272.

plete decades (311–319, 320–329) are missing; the others are wanting here and there. It is of course a natural supposition that some errors were made during the process of numbering, but the margin of difference is too great for us to ascribe it merely to carelessness. We can only draw the regrettable conclusion that a considerable number of the loose leaves have disappeared.

The entire manuscript was photographed by Mrs. R. P. Blake in the spring of 1922, and the prints now form part of the J. P. Morgan, Jr., Collection of Manuscript Photographs in the Library of Harvard University.

The catena accompanying the text of the Octateuch naturally attracted my interest. An analysis of it undertaken at the time showed that by far the greatest amount of material was taken from the writings of Cyril and Theodoret; then came Eusebius and Severus, with John Chrysostom in the fifth place. To establish the authorship of the catena was impossible at Tiflis, but investigations undertaken at Cambridge showed very soon that we have to do with the ordinary commentary on the Octateuch, the so-called catena Nicephori.¹⁶ Both the scholia and the text are clearly based upon it, although the Georgian translator has added not a few short notes of his own. I now feel fairly certain that the catena on the Octateuch was not translated into Georgian by Ephrem Mcire, and am inclined to believe that it is by the same hand which translated the biblical text.¹⁷ Meanwhile, however, Professor Korneli Kekelidze has succeeded in unsnarling the confused and perplexing tradition which attaches to the Georgian translator and philosopher John Petriçi and his school. Though his results are far from final, the following points are now clear: John Petriçi and John Čimčimeli are two distinct persons. John Petriçi lived approxi-

¹⁶ On this catena, see Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*², p. 213. The catena was edited by Nicephorus Hieromonachus at Leipzig in 1772.

¹⁷ In the original draft of this article I included a long analysis of the catena. After receiving the photographs of the ms., however, I copied out the Book of Judges and, with the assistance of Professor G. F. Moore, established that the text of this book in the Georgian version of U was the same as that of the catena Nicephori. I have accordingly omitted that analysis in the present article.

mately from 1060 to 1125; John Čimčimeli was alive in the year 1212, when he delivered the funeral oration at the bier of Queen Tamara. John Čimčimeli was interested in exegetical literature, and translated the commentary of Theophylact of Bulgaria on Mark and Luke; also that of Metrophanes of Smyrna and Olympiodorus upon Ecclesiastes. Although the attribution of the latter work to him is not absolutely certain, Kekelidze has made it fairly evident upon stylistic grounds that the author of the translation of Metrophanes and that of the commentary on Mark is one and the same. He made a comparison of the Georgian text of Olympiodorus with that of the printed Greek which brought out certain variations; these may either be recensional or due to the translator, so that the presence of additional scholia by the hand of the Georgian author in our manuscript need not surprise us. One further point which may be noted here is the fact that the punctuation in the manuscript follows in general the system laid down by Ephrem Mcire, with the addition of a semi-circular hyphen beneath the line to connect compound words, which Kekelidze has shown to be characteristic of the work of John Petriči and his followers.¹⁸ In fine, then, I am inclined to attribute the translation both of text and catena to John Čimčimeli or to one of his contemporaries and followers.

We must now turn our attention to the text of the Octateuch as we find it in U. For purposes of comparison I copied out the book of Ruth and compared it with all the other Georgian mss then accessible to me. These were:

(1) Cod. Athous Iveron Geor. 1 (978 A.D.) = O, unfortunately not in the original, but in a bad modern copy of the years 1851 to 1854, now Cod. Eccl. Mus. 471 = O.

(2) Cod. Eccl. Mus. 51 from Mtskheth' (s. XVIII med.) = C.

(3) Cod. 885 of the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography (s. XVIII med.) = F. This ms. is very closely akin to C, but is carelessly written and has many omissions.

(4) The printed Georgian Bible in the Moscow edition of 1743 = M.

¹⁸ See Professor Cornelius Kekelidze, *Commentarii in Ecclesiastem Metrophanis, Metropolitae Smyrnensis*, Tiflis 1920, Introd. pp. lv ff.

The text of U has hitherto been completely unknown, and represents an isolated type of version. It is not revised from the older text, but is a direct translation from the Greek, executed in the spirit of the extreme scholastic movement. Readableness and intelligibility are ruthlessly sacrificed to literal exactness. New and peculiar Grecisms are met with at every step, while Georgian syntax is often dislocated through the effort of the translator to leave unaltered the Greek construction he imitates.

I adduce first of all some examples of literal translations:

RUTH			
Vs.	COM	U	LXX
1.1	huriastanisayt' (-sit' C) from the Hebrew (land)	iudaysit' from Judea	τῆς ἰούδα
1.1	sop'elsa country	velsa field	ἐν ἀγρῷ
1.2	k'ueqanasa land	velsa field	εἰς ἀγρόν
1.6	micemad naqop'isa to give fruit	micemad pursa (as in Greek)	δοῦναι . . . ἄρτους
1.8	mivedit' go! (pl.)	ukumivik'cet' let us turn back	ἀποστράφητε
1.12	çarvedit' depart (pl.)	miik'ecit' return (pl.)	ἐπιστράφητε
1.12	arȳara šemdzebul var me k'mrisa sumad no longer able am I to have a husband	ara ars čem t'ana dzali rayt'a vik'mne me k'mrisad there is not with me the power that I become a man's	τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἀνδρί
1.15	moquasisasa comrade	t'ana-sdzalman fellow daughter-in-law	σύννυμφος
1.15	iqop'odi, viqop'odi thou wert, I was	daivano, davivano that thou inhabitest, that I inhabit	ἀλίσθης, ἀλίσθησομαι
1.21	boroti miqo me evil me did he	ganborota he 'evilled'	ἐκάκωσεν
2.5	čabuki O, 'youth' čabuka CM and Sulkhan Orbeli- ani, s.v. young woman	čabukidi youth (fem.) i.e. maiden	παιδάριον
2.6	dedakaci OM k'ali C mulier femina	qrmadi lassie	νεάνις
2.12	p'erḳht'a feet	p'rt'et'a wings	πτέρυγας

2.14 šeusuara he heaped up for her	šeuborcua he 'hilled' up for her	ἐβούνισεν
2.23 iqop'oda frequentabat	dajda he sat	ἐκάθισεν
3.11 nat'esavman relative	tomman family	φυλή
3.12 nat'esav ut supra	sasumeli (see below, p. 285)	ἀγχιστεὺς

In general the Greek manuscript which the translator of U followed seems to have been fairly close to the ordinary text of the Septuagint. It is hard to say in some cases whether the variants noted between U and the Septuagint arose from differences in the Greek archetype or from the desire to reproduce merely the general sense of the Greek text. Thus we observe in certain instances omissions in U contrary to the LXX.¹⁹

RUTH			
Vs.	COM	U	LXX
1.18	esret' mislvad mis t'ana thus until the coming with her	>	τοῦ πορεύεσθαι μετ' αὐτῆς
1.18	mierit'gan (after ἐκόπασεν) from now on	>	ἔτι (at end of vs.)
2.3	šekriba t'avi gathered the ear(s)	>	συνέλεξεν

The most striking difference in style between the two Georgian versions lies in the fact that in U the translator employed participial constructions on a large scale. In the 'classical' period of old Georgian literature (to 1050 A.D.) participles were employed: (1) as substantives in the rôle of subjects in main clauses; (2) as adjectives in dependence upon other substantives. Georgian writers, however, except in scholastic texts, carefully avoid the Greek (or Armenian) constructions in which the participle replaces a personal form of the verb and forms an independent part of the sentence, e.g., εἰπὼν ἀπεκρίνατο, or the genitive absolute, where the idea expressed by the participle stands in a certain relation to the main clause, e.g., τῶν θεῶν ἐπαινεσάντων ἀπέπευσε 'Οδυσσεύς. Imitations of the geni-

¹⁹ I cannot gather any ms. evidence for these omissions from A. Rahlfs, *Das Buch Ruth griechisch* (Stuttgart 1922), and presume they are only errors in U.

tive absolute, it is true, are met with in certain literal translations of the earlier period, but they are rare.²⁰ In U, however, we find the participial construction at every turn:

Vs.	COM	RUTH	
		U	LXX
1.22	movides they came	mok'ceuli having turned	ἐπιστρέφουσα
2.3	da movida and he came	mosruli having come	ἐλθοῦσα (A)
2.6	romeli movida who came	mok'ceuli having turned	ἀποστραφεῖσα
2.15	da amcno boos monat'a t'üst'a da hrk'ua and Boaz charged his servants and said	da amcno boosman qrmat'a t'üst'a metqueylman and Boaz charged his servants saying	καὶ ἐνετείλατο Βόος τοῖς παι- δαρίοις αὐτοῦ λέγων
2.18	da gamoiγo rut' da misca and took it forth Ruth and gave	mimart'umelman rut'man misca having taken it forth Ruth gave	καὶ ἐξενέγκασα Ῥοῦθ ἔδωκεν
4.4	da hrk'ua mas miuge and spoke to her, etc.	metqueylman moige speaking, etc.	λέγων κηῆσαι etc.

In his attempt to keep as close as possible to the Greek text, the translator uses such expressions and coins new phrases such as are never used in Georgian texts of the earlier period. Words occur which are clearly modelled on Greek forms; idiomatic turns of speech peculiar to the Greek are verbally reproduced in Georgian guise. It is clear that the translator completely cast aside the older version and bent all his energies toward reproducing the Greek text with literal exactitude. For example:

Vs.	COM	RUTH	
		U	LXX
1.7	mier k'ueqnit' from (there) from the land	adgilit' sada iqo mun from that place where she was there	ἐκ τοῦ τόπου οὗ ἦν ἐκεῖ
1.10	mivedit'	ukmivik'cet'	ἐπιστρέφωμεν
1.12	vit'armed semdzlebel var γa k'mrisi sumad	vit'arca cem t'ana ars dzali rayt'a vik'mne me k'mrisad	ὅτι ἔστιν μοι ὑπ- όστασις τοῦ γενη- θῆναι με ἀνδρὶ

²⁰ They are met with, for instance, in the commentary of Hippolytus on the Song of Solomon (p. 24, ll. 38/39 of text) aha lodisa mis carmogorvebulisa; see N. Marr, The Commentary of Hippolytus on the Song of Songs, St. Petersburg 1901, pp. liv f.

1.15 moquasi	t'anasdzlisa	σύννυμφος
1.19 da movides bet'lemad and they came to Bethlehem	vidre moslvadmde bet'lemad until their coming to Bethle- hem	ἔως τοῦ παραγε- νέσθαι αὐτὰς εἰς Βαιθλέεμ
1.22 moabeli	moabiṭi (in other cases moabeli)	Μωαβεῖτις
2.5 monasa	qrmasa	παιδαρίω
2.5 čabuki O čabuka CM	čabukidi	νεᾶνις

The effort of the translator to reproduce literally appears also in the orthography of Hebrew proper names and of geographical appellations. These are literally transcribed, which gives them a somewhat peculiar physiognomy. Consonants are doubled, which is completely against all the laws of Georgian phonetics, and the same is true of vowels. It is necessary to observe, however, that the orthography of the ms. is not consistent in this regard. Moreover, the translator does not adopt the mediaeval pronunciation of certain Greek letters; thus β is *b* and not *v*, which latter orthography is found in some late translations from the Greek, such as ms. 60 of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum (Letters of St. Nilus), where $\gamma = gh$, etc.

Another mark of the language of this school is that the writer endeavors to translate schematically the tenses of Greek verbal forms. In the older translations great confusion reigns in this matter, arising from the fact that old Georgian (and to a certain extent the modern tongue as well) does not make a sharp temporal distinction in verbal forms, but divides them according to the completeness and incompleteness of the action, as do the Semitic languages:

RUTH			
Vs.	COM	U	LXX
1.9	mogagen subj. pres.	mogces subj. past	δάη
1.9	tirodes imperfect	itires aorist	ἐκλαυσαν
1.16	viqop'odi imperfect	daivano future	αἰλισθήσομαι
1.20	nu mrk'ūt' aorist imperative	nu micodt' present imperative	μή δὴ καλεῖτε

The scholastic character of the language is also evident in the fact that Hebrew proper names, which are usually indeclinable in Georgian, here have the suffix of the dative pronominal case (-*man*). Nothing of the sort is found in COM. There is also observable a tendency to represent Greek particles by Georgian words, which begins to some extent in the works of the Athonite translators, but is especially strongly developed among the scholastics:

		RUTH	
Vs.	COM	U	LXX
3.1, 3	>	kholo	δέ
3.2	egera <i>ιδού</i>	aç ara	νῦν οὐχί
1.5	orni ve	iginica orni ve	καί γε ἀμφοτέροι
1.15	aha egera en tibi	aha en	ιδού
1.16	sada	vidre quoad	ὅπου ἐάν
1.8, 2.2	<i>δή</i> is not translated		

From the lexical point of view our text is rather curious. Along with the Grecisms and new coinages which we have discussed above, there are a whole series of variations from the older text, which are interesting in themselves, and will become more so when we possess a good collection of materials for Georgian stylistics:

		RUTH	
Vs.	COM	U	LXX
1.7	dzis colni	sdzalni	νύμφας
et passim	wives of son	daughters-in-law	
2.2	nat'esavisagan from the tribe	nat'esavobisa from the tribal complex	
2.11	gušin da dzoγan yesterday and (the day) before	gušinit'gan da mesamet' from yesterday and the third (days)	ἐχθές καὶ τρίτης
2.14	ert' kerdzo one side	mguardit' from the flank	ἐκ πλαγίων
2.17	gamocmidna she purified	ganargna she winnowed	ἐράβδισεν
2.22	gankhüed thou goest	hvle thou wentest	ἐπορεύθης
2.22	mokhüed go thou	šegact'uneben šen they deceive thee (error in Greek for ἀπατήσονται)	ἀπαντήσονται

3.9	nat'esavi	sasumeli ²¹	ἀγχιστεῖς
	tribe, relative	relative (not by blood)	

While I was engaged in the study of this ms. I discovered that it is not the only extant representative of its type, as first seemed to be the case. We do not know what became of the other manuscript of the same kind which Žordania mentions. During the investigation I naturally paid particular attention to the Tiflis copy²² of the Athos codex O, as representing the most ancient of the surviving mss of this part of the Bible. Unfortunately, however, the photographs of that manuscript which were taken by the Russian Academy of Sciences were not available in Tiflis. It was from the Dadiani²³ copy of the Athos ms. that A. A. Tsagareli edited the text of the Song of Solomon.²⁴ The defects of the ms., which are reflected in the publication, were long ago pointed out by N. Marr.²⁵ I clearly recalled, however, that, while working over the photographs of the original codex in Petrograd, there was a large gap in the Octateuch, and this was confirmed by the statements of A. A. Tsagareli and A. S. Khakhanov. Upon examining the Tiflis copy (Cod. 471 of the Ecclesiastical Museum), it appeared that the whole text, with one small gap, was extant. The suspicion at once arose in my mind that the ms. had been supplemented from the Moscow edition (M). A comparison of selected passages, however, showed that they had nothing in common. While engaged in this task, I was much struck by the similarity between this section of the text and U, and further investigation established the following series of facts:

1. Cod. Eccl. Mus. 471 has been supplemented from another codex closely allied to U. Paper, ink, hand, and the numbers

²¹ This curious word is apparently connected with the root \sqrt{sv} , to be, nasci. In the lexicon of Saba Sulokhanishvili, the word *sasumloba* is adduced without any citation, although the lexicographer speaks of Boaz and Ruth, and cites them as an example.

²² T'. Žordania, *Opisanie rukopisei*, etc., II, 35–41.

²³ This is the other copy made in the fifties. A short notice is contained in the catalogue of D. Kariačvili, p. 15.

²⁴ A. A. Tsagareli, *Svedeniya*, etc., I, 1–25, 69–75.

²⁵ N. Marr, *Iz poezdki na Athon* (*Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěšeniya*, May 1899, pp. 1 ff.).

of the pages differ from those of the main text. This supplement agrees exactly in extent and content with the statements of Tsagareli and Khakhanov regarding the gap in O. It extends from Leviticus 7, 4 to Judges 19, 26 = U₁.

2. A similar copy was made for the Dadiani ms., but in this instance it was not bound up together with the Athos text, but is separately listed under No. 397 of the Society for the Extension of Literacy among the Georgians = U₂.

3. The text as presented by the two mss is practically identical. That they are copies of the same archetype is confirmed by the fact that in both of them there is a gap from Deuteronomy 4, 42 to 8, 4. In the margin is a note in the hand of the text (in both mss) calling attention to the lacuna. In No. 471 = U₁, the rest of the page is filled in by another hand (to Deuteronomy 5, 8), and in this part the text agrees neither with U nor with M. In ms. U the text of Deuteronomy 4, 42-8, 4 is extant (f. 99 (100), lines 27 ff.).

4. In those parts of U which were compared, no important differences between U₁ and U₂ were noted by me. I therefore inferred that in both we have copies of a ms. of this recension of possibly the eighteenth century.²⁶ This ms. was in existence in Georgia during the fifties of the nineteenth century, and was known to those persons who saw to having the copies made from O. One quaternion, however, was missing from the ms., and presumably the scholia also.

It now remains to say a few words regarding the other mss of the Pentateuch (or Octateuch). The following codices are extant to the writer's knowledge:

1. O Athos Ivērōn (a. 978). Gap in Octateuch from Leviticus 7, 4 to Judges 19, 26, and much of Genesis and Exodus also missing.²⁷

2. C Mtskhet' ms., now No. 51 of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum (circa 1750: minor gaps here and there).²⁸

²⁶ The orthography is late, but this of course may be due to the modern scribe.

²⁷ Described by A. A. Tsagareli and A. S. Khakhanov, *op. cit.*

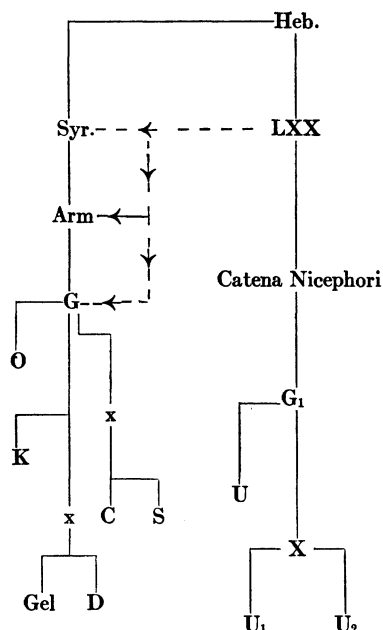
²⁸ Described by T'. Žordania, *Opisanie rukopisei, etc.*, I, 40, 41.

3. Gel Gelat'i ms. No. 38 (s. XVII fin.). Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and part of Numbers.²⁹

4. D Cod. No. 1207 of the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography (s. XVII fin.). Genesis to the middle of Deuteronomy.³¹

5. F Cod. No. 234 of the Ecclesiastical Museum (a. 1674).³⁰ Deuteronomy only.

6. S Cod. No. 885 of the Georgian Society of History and Ethnography (s. XVIII med.). Part of Deuteronomy and Joshua to Ruth.³¹



Such preliminary investigation as the writer has made encourages the following tentative conclusions. If we exclude F from consideration, Gel and D seem to belong together in an

²⁹ According to Professor K. Kekelidze's manuscript catalogue of the Gelat'i codices which the author kindly allowed me to use. I myself examined the ms. in January 1920 and compiled a more detailed description.

³⁰ Described by T'. Žordania, *Opisanie*, etc., I, 259.

³¹ No published descriptions of these mss. In addition we have two leaves in capitals containing fragments of Numbers in the binding of ms. 104 of the Society for the Extension of Literacy. Though old (s. ix-x), the text is exceedingly corrupt. I hesitate to assign it a place in the stemma (K).

inferior class characterized by many corruptions and omissions, and ultimately quite closely allied to O. S seems to stand closer to C, but is very carelessly written, with many omissions. The variation is not very great among the different codices, nor are there any very evident instances of close connection; hence the table of relationship on the preceding page is largely hypothetical. All manuscripts of the above-mentioned group represent the same type of text.

We have one further witness to the Georgian Old Testament in the quotations which the Georgian lexicographer Saba Sulkhan Orbeliani (d. 1726) introduced in his dictionary. An investigation of his citations from the Old Testament, though as yet incomplete, indicates that the ms. he used was made up of sections of entirely different character. It seems to have included variant readings, apparently in the margin. The latter part of the Hagiographa was badly damaged in the archetype, which was also that of C for this particular section. In the prophets Sulkhan used chiefly the redaction which is preserved here in M = U, but to a minor extent a different version was also employed by him. In the Octateuch there are more variants, and Sulkhan seems to have had access to several mss. In any case, he quotes a large number of words which have not yet turned up in our extant codices.

We may now turn to a consideration of the text which U exhibits in the prophetic books. For purposes of comparison I copied the text of Zephaniah (Sop'onia), largely because that was the only book among the minor prophets which is preserved complete in the codex. A comparison of the text with M showed that the two are almost completely identical. The similarity goes so far that, if we leave out of account certain additions in U by a later hand, we cannot point to a single variant reading of even minor importance. The significance of the discovery of a manuscript text which agrees with the Moscow Bible is very considerable. No such ms. had previously been found. The history of this edition is fairly well known to us from the preface of Bakur Wakhtangovich and the colophon of the editors, the Georgian princes Wakhusht and Bakur. The

work of collecting the separate books of the Georgian Bible begun by King Arčil of Kakhet'ia was completed by Bakur. Arčil revised the parts of the Bible which he had got together, employing for this purpose the Slavic text alone, without taking account of the new Russian translation, which itself had been revised with use of the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Bulgarian Bibles. Hence Bakur had again to compare the Georgian text with that of the new Russian version. The Psalter, the Prophets, and the New Testament had already been revised and printed by King Wakhtang in his Tiflis printery. Bakur says in the colophon: "The rest we divided, according to the Russian translation, into chapters and verses. While altering certain expressions, we left unchanged the names of beasts of prey, animals, fishes, plants, nor did we alter proper names."³² Of this, of course, scholars had been aware. But we now are able to judge how great the actual alterations were which the eighteenth-century editors and scribes introduced. In Zephaniah they run as follows:

ZEPHANIAH			
Vs.	M (added in U)	U	LXX
1, 5	sakhelsa up'lisaysa in the name of the Lord	>	> ³³
1, 9	ymrt'isay misa	>	θεοῦ αὐτῶν ³⁴
1, 17	da dast'khios siskhli mat'i k'ueqanasa and he shall pour out their blood on the earth	>	καὶ ἐκχεεῖ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν ὡς χοῦν ³⁵
1, 19	ceckhli't'a šurisa	šurisa	ἐν πυρὶ ζήλους ³⁶
2, 2	dγisa mis gulis çqromisa	>	ἡμέραν θυμοῦ ³⁷
3, 6	amis t'üs for this	>	> ³⁸

³² This preface is generally lost from most copies of M, as is the case with the one in the author's possession. The above is taken from М. Г. Джанашивили, Описание рукописей церковного музея etc., III, Тифлисъ, 1908, pp. 223, 224.

³³ ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου βασιλέως αὐτῶν Arm. ms. (Arm. ed. al. κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος).

³⁴ — 68, 91, 97, 153, 228, 310, Ald.

³⁵ Not omitted by any ms. cited by Holmes and Parsons; most codd. have ὡς χοῦν: eis χοῦν as here, 87, 91, 97, 153, 228, Ald.

³⁶ Not omitted by any mss.

³⁷ ἡμέραν ὀργῆς θυμοῦ Κυρίου 42, 68, 86, 87, 97, 147, 228.

³⁸ Exegetical in Georgian.

3, 8	riskhvay čemi qoveli ve riskhvay gulis çqromisa čemisa	riskhvay čemi	πᾶσαν ὁργὴν θυ- μοῦ μου ³⁹
3, 10	šeiçqnarne gant'esult'a šoris čemt'a	>	προσδέξομαι ἐν διεσπαρμένοις μου ⁴⁰
3, 19	aha egera	aha	ἰδοῦ

The evidence afforded by the apparatus of Holmes and Parsons goes to show that in general these interpolations are of two types:

1. 1, 17; 1, 19 are evidently lapses on the part of the author (or scribe) of U, as there seems to be no ms. evidence for their absence.

2. 1, 9; 2, 2; 3, 8; 3, 10 are evidently interpolated from MSS which are strongly under the influence of the Hexapla.

3. 1, 5. An explanation is not obvious.

With regard to the interpolations in U, the problem is much more complex than appears on the surface. The additions are of two types: (a) written in the margin only; (b) written in the margin and inserted in the text. The interpolations of category (b) are almost all included in the text of M. To test this point more fully, an investigation of the insertions in Isaiah was undertaken. It showed that for the most part they agree with Q^{mg}, i.e., with the Hexapla. The manner in which the interpolations have been marked (some being included and some not) shows that U was corrected from a source closely allied to Q^{mg}. The agreement between the Georgian and the Slavic, which is not infrequently evident in the apparatus of Holmes and Parsons, is something which we should naturally expect on the basis of the statements of Bakur in the preface quoted above, and we should accordingly infer that this has arisen through correction from the Slavic. Two explanations suggest themselves: (1) U is corrected from the Slavic; (2) U is the ms. from which M was printed. That the second is true seems to me almost certain. Whether the first is correct, however, can only be decided after an investigation of the Slavic

³⁹ τὴν ὁργὴν μου πᾶσαν ὁργὴν θυμοῦ μου 22, 23, 36, 51, 68, 87, 95, 97, 130, 185, 225, 239, 310, 311.

⁴⁰ — XII, 26, 49, 106, 130, 153, 198, 233, 311 Origen, Euseb. Theodoret; in other MSS sub*.

text, which is not accessible to me here. If the Slavic proves to be strongly tinged with Hexaplaric material, our first supposition will then probably be correct.⁴¹

In this part of the Old Testament the relation between the Athos ms. (O) and U is quite clear. Both texts have been subjected to Greek influence, but at different times and in a different manner. M = U presents a text whose archetype was a translation from the Armenian, which was worked over in the early scholastic period. It is a revision, and not a retranslation, such as we have in the Octateuch. U = M retains a number of Armenian words for which in O their native Georgian equivalents are substituted. O, in its turn, represents a revision of the same archetype in the spirit of the early Grecophile movement, much like the text of the apostolic writings in codd. 407 and 1138 (= Eccl. Mus. 345) of the Society for the Extension of Literacy among the Georgians. Very closely akin to O, but a cousin rather than a sister ms., is the Jerusalem codex of the Prophets (= I).⁴² Both of these mss are presumably of Tao-Klardjet'ian origin. The variations between them and U are for the most part stylistic rather than recensional.

Some confirmation of the assertions made above regarding the relation between U and O I is desirable. First concerning words of Armenian origin:

ZEPHANIAH

Vs.	UM	O	LXX
1,12	gamovidzio ieylmi bazmakit'a ⁴³ I shall seek out Jerusalem with a lamp	gamoikhilo ieylmi sant'lit'a I shall peer out Jerusalem with a lamp	ἐξερευνήσω τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετὰ λύχνου
2,6	bak ⁴⁴ ekhovart'a	sadgur ekhovart'a	μάνδρα προβάτων

⁴¹ Kekelidze declares that the Slavic Bible used by Wakhtang is the Moscow edition of 1663, which is presumably correct (K'art'uli literaturis istoria, Tiflis 1923, p. 461).

⁴² Described by A. A. Цагарели, Свѣдѣнія о памятникахъ грузиской письменности, выпускъ 2, Спб. 1888, pp. 1 ff. and by R. P. Blake, Catalogue des mss. géorgiens de la bibliothèque patriarcale grecque à Jérusalem, Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, 3 ser., t. IV (XXIII), pp. 26 and 30 ff. of reprint. The author now possesses a full set of photostat prints of this codex.

⁴³ Arm. բազմակ.

⁴⁴ Arm. բակ.

2,11 qovelni čalakni ⁴⁵ carmart'- t'ani all the islands of the heathen	qovelni čabukni t'esleb- isani all the youths of the gentiles	πάσαι αἱ νῆσοι τῶν ἐθνῶν
2,15 ese k'alak'i khenešay ⁴⁶ 3,1 this city evil	ese ars igi k'alak'i gank'arvebuli this is the city destroyed	αὕτη ἡ πόλις ἡ φauλίστρια
3,4 šeabilčebden ⁴⁷	šeaginebden	βεβηλοῦσιν
3,6 ampartavanni ⁴⁸	id.	ὑπερφάνους
3,11 sikhenešeni ⁴⁹ ginebisa šenisani the evils of thy pollution	sicrue ginebisa šenisa the falsehood of thy pollu- tion	τὰ φauλίσματα τῆς ὑβρεώς σου

From the preceding list we observe that of the seven Armenian words found in UM, only one is retained in O.

To show the scholastic character of the language in UM, we may adduce the following examples:

ZEPHANIAH			
Vs.	UM	O	LXX
1,7	mit' ramet'u et pass. therewith that	ramet'u that	διότι
1,9	qovelt'a zeda sačino- k'mnilt'a činabčeebt'a zeda on all the prominent (ἐμφανείς) on the outworks	qovelt'a zeda gan- ckhadebulad činaše bčet'a as in Greek	ἐπὶ πάντας (om. B) ἐμφανῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πρόπυλα
1,12	šeurackhis mqop'el'ta the despisers	romelni šeurackh hqop'ian who despise	τοὺς καταφρο- νούντας
1,12	uborotos denominal verb	ik'mnes up'alman arca boroti nor did the Lord evil (subj.)	κακώσῃ
1,13	dasatacebelad to plunder	aγsačrel excise	εἰς διαρπαγὴν
1,15	učino sak'mnelad to make to disappear	gansarqunelad to destroy	ἀφανισμοῦ
(ditto 2, 4 15)			

⁴⁵ Arm. ձալակ; čabukni of O is a corruption of νῆσοι into νεοί.

⁴⁶ Arm. քեհեշայ.

⁴⁷ Denominal verb from Arm. քեհեշ.

⁴⁸ Arm. ամբարտաւան.

⁴⁹ From Arm. քեհեշայ.

2,2	quavili t'ana čarmavali (t'ana = <i>παρά</i>)	quavili čarmavali	<i>παραπορευόμενον</i>
2,5	uckhotomt'ay	uckhot'ay	<i>ἄλλοφύλων</i>
2,12	čqluleb makhūlisa čemisa iqvnet' as in Greek	čqlulebit' <i>τραυματία</i>	<i>τραυματία τῆς ρομφαίας μου ἐστέ</i>
2,14	sašual	šoris	<i>ἐν μέσῳ</i>
2,15	metqueyli participle	ramet'u itqoda	<i>λέγουσα</i>
3,5	ramet'u up'ali mart'ali sašual missa for the just Lord is among her	kholo up'ali nat'el da samart'ali misi but the Lord (is) bright and his justice	<i>ὁ δὲ Κύριος δίκαιος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς</i>
3,8	dγedmi -mi = <i>εἰς</i>	dγed	<i>εἰς ἡμέραν</i>
3,9	khdad qovelt'a sakheli up'lisay infinitive	rayt'a khadodian qovelni sakhelsa up'lisasa final clause	<i>τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι πάντας τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου</i>
3,10	et'ioπiasat'a from Ethiopia	hindoet'isayt' from India	<i>Αἰθιοπίας</i>
3,11	ara sirckhūleul ik'mne	ara grckhunes	<i>οὐ μὴ καταισχυ- θῆς</i>
3,11	did mok'adulad as in Greek	maγlovad to exalt	<i>μεγαλανχῆσαι</i>
3,14	dznobdin qovlit' gamo gulit' šenit' as in Greek	ganckhrebone qovlit'a gulit'a šenit'a with thy whole heart	<i>κατατέρπον ἐξ ὅ- λης τῆς καρδίας σου</i>

A few words will now be in place concerning the commentary on the Prophets in U. As I pointed out above, scholia are only occasionally found in this part of the codex:

1. On Ezekiel 1, 4: explanation of the cloud and of the animals (in the margin).

2. On Jeremiah 18, 18: quotation from Olympiodorus in red; below a scholion from Chrysostom.

3. On Jeremiah 50, 30: scholion in red ink on the margin.

4. At the head of all the Minor Prophets where the text is preserved we find the prooemia of Theodoret of Cyrros, while at the end come short biographical notes derived from pseudo-Epiphanius.⁵⁰ The general character of the language in these

⁵⁰ These are of the recensio scholiis Hesychii aliorumque patrum in prophetas addita ap. Th. Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae* etc. Lips. 1907, pp. 102.26-103.4. These are associated with the vitae of Theodoret in a Laurentian ms.; cf. Schermann, l. c., pp. xxxi-xxxii.

scholia is quite in harmony with that of the catena on the Octateuch.

Who is the author of this version? We have discovered the following characteristic attributes of his work: (1) Armenisms are retained; (2) the language is scholastic in character, but not extremely so; (3) scholia are present which make use of the works of Theodoret. These three things taken together make it highly probable that the reviser of the text is none other than Ephrem Mcire. The work is a revision rather than a retranslation after the manner of this writer. Ephrem tended to keep Armenian words in his text and was himself acquainted with the language. E. S. T'aqaišvili⁵¹ quotes in translation a scholion of Ephrem on the 'Οδηγός of John of Damascus, in which Ephrem declares that the word *lek'si* is impossible to translate into Georgian, but in Armenian it is *Գրական* *k'erakan*, 'grammar.' In addition to the above P. A. Ingoroqva has pointed out the curious fact that in Ephrem's version of the homily of Gregory Nazianzen against the Arians and Eunomians, which is a revision of the translation from the Armenian by the hand of Gregory of Oška (Oškeli),⁵² the one clear Armenian word in the latter's text *urakparaki* (= Arm. *Հրապարակ* 'square, place'), is retained by Ephrem.⁵³

All these considerations tend to make us believe that in the versions of the Prophets which we have under consideration, we have a work of the brilliant Georgian scholar who labored so unremittingly to enrich his native literature; but a definite answer can be obtained only after all the available materials have carefully been worked through and much that is still lying idle in manuscripts has been made accessible.

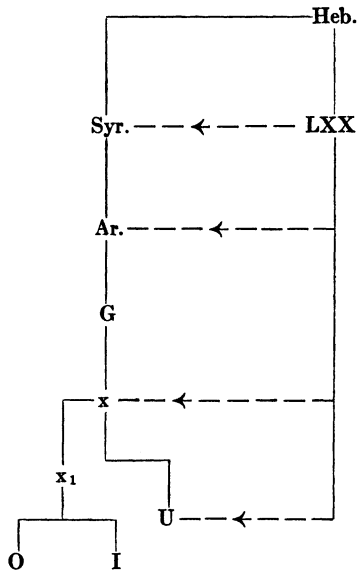
As regards the Prophets, the position of our manuscript in the general scheme of the textual tradition of the Old Testament in Georgian is very tentatively indicated by means of the stemma on the next page.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Описаніе рукописей Общества Распространенія Грамотности etc., 1, 720, Tiflis, 1902.

⁵² MS. Eccl. Mus. 87 (s. XI), pp. 771 ff.

⁵³ Grigol Oškeli, in a paper read before the Georgian Society for History and Ethnography, December 15, 1918.

⁵⁴ The ultimate relationship of this version with the Syriac and the Armenian I hope to deal with elsewhere.



The results of the foregoing discussion may be provisionally formulated in the following propositions:

1. The manuscript tradition of different parts of the Georgian Old Testament is not uniform. The original translations and later revisions were made at different times and from varying archetypes.

2. The relation of M to the Armenian texts, in the Prophets at least, is much closer than has previously been supposed. M is here presumably a revision of a direct translation from the Armenian.

3. A new and independent version of the larger part of the Octateuch, made from the Greek, with important scholia, has been brought to light. Although this text is useless for the task of reconstituting the oldest Georgian version, it is none the less of great importance for the history of Georgian literature.

4. We are now able to fix a considerable portion of the text of M in a definite period and to give it an objective valuation.

APPENDIX

The history of the manuscript U is as follows: The deceased Georgian scholar, Th. D. Žordania (ob. 1916), declares in the second volume of his *Chronicles* ⁵⁵ that in the church built alongside the ruins of the cathedral of Bagrat III at Kutais, he had found among other remarkable manuscripts a large codex in folio, mutilated at the beginning and at the end, with forty lines to the page in *khutsuri nuskhā* (ecclesiastical minuscule script) of the twelfth century. The codex had suffered much from damp. It contained Genesis ⁵⁶ or the Old Testament together with a commentary. The middle of the page is occupied by the Old Testament text, written in a bold hand. On the broad margins around this are written explanations and scholia on the text in the middle, often in the form of question and answer. The words and phrases explained are marked in red with Georgian capital letters (e.g., A, B, P, etc.), while the scholia are headed by the author's name. Žordania then gives a list of Fathers quoted in the scholia, some of whose names he misspells, while others never existed. In emphasizing the value of the scholia, Žordania incidentally remarks that in his opinion they were composed by the Georgian author himself, and were drawn from the original works of the Greek authors. This in his opinion is proved by the fact that each commentator is quoted separately. He further observes that the new find is even more important for Georgian scholars, since it permits the reconstruction of the text of the Old Testament by following out the work of George the Athonite and of King Wakhtang and his assistants. "Unfortunately," he continues, "the Old Testament found by us is incomplete both at the beginning and the end, but this defect is supplied to a considerable extent by another manuscript ⁵⁷ of the Old Testament with scholia of the same type which we found in the same church. Although the latter is much damaged, (still) the two supplement each other." Žordania goes on to say that he had found yet another manuscript of the Old Testament written in the 'warrior hand' (*mḱhedruli*) of the sixteenth century in the cathedral at T'elav (in Kakhet'ia).⁵⁸ Four quaternions or thirty-two

⁵⁵ T'. Žordania, *K'ronikebi da skhva masalebi sak'art'velos istoriisat'vis*, c. II, tp'iliss, 1897 c., pp. 36-39.

⁵⁶ Dabadeba is literally Genesis, but is used in modern Georgian per synecdochen for the whole of the Old Testament, in place of *dzveli ayt'k'ma*.

⁵⁷ It is unknown what manuscript Ž. had in mind here. At first it seemed probable to me that he referred to Cod. 570 of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum, in which we have a few scholia, or rather hexaplaric readings from Aquila and Symmachus, which have been collected and published by M. Djanashvili in *Nashromi* 3, 37 ff. (Tiflis 1910), together with a short description of the ms. The expression *amgvariani*, 'of this type,' however, does not suit that ms., and I now think that we have not yet laid hands upon this second codex. It may be among the papers of Žordania. See above, p. 271.

⁵⁸ In this instance we have undoubtedly to do with Cod. 646 of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum. This codex is described in some detail, but with many errors and inaccuracies, by Žordania in his *Описание рукописей Тифлисскаго Церковнаго Музея карталино-кахетинскаго Духовенства II, Тифлисъ 1902 г.*, pp. 129-131, and also by M. Djanashvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff. Only 10 or 12 folia are lost at the beginning, however.

pages are missing from it at the beginning; quaternions 5 to 69 are preserved, forming 520 folia or 1040 pages.

Žordania then returns to his description of the first ms. The codex commences with Leviticus 14, and this is followed by Numbers, the opening words of which he quotes. He likewise quotes an adscription (memorial) mentioning a certain *kat'alikozi Eustratios*, who is unknown to us from other sources.⁵⁹ He then adduces two passages which refer to *kimena* (i.e., τὰ κείμενα),⁶⁰ as e.g., f. 79 v. in red ink on the margin, which he most amusingly takes to be the name of a translator whom he dates in the fifth or sixth century A.D. He further notes that the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges are extant, and of all of these he quotes the first lines; Ruth is also present. At the end he adds: "After this (book) much is wanting, the leaves are disarranged and much self-sacrificing work will be necessary to bring them into the proper order." Ezekiel and some of the other prophets are also extant: "It is likewise noteworthy that certain books were divided both into chapters and into verses in the seventeenth–eighteenth century, and were numbered throughout with Arabic numerals. Here and there traces are to be found that in recent times (s. XVIII) the ancient text had been corrected by (the) new Old Testament (dabadeba)." ⁶¹

⁵⁹ F. 98 v; in a different ink from that of the body of the text and by a later hand.

⁶⁰ See on this K. S. Kekelidze, Иоаннъ Ксифилинъ, продолжатель Симеона Метафраста, Христианскій Востокъ I (1912), pp. 332 f., and Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, I, Keimena (Tiflis 1918), p. x.

⁶¹ T'. Žordania, K'ronikebi, II, pp. 37, 38.